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shows have been pageantic; they reached the height of splendor in the seventeenth century, when such men as Middleton, Dekker, Heywood and even Webster did not find it beneath their dignity to plan a civic celebration with pageant-cars and speeches; in our own day, they returned to a higher level of art in the hands of Mr. Louis N. Parker, "the father of modern pageantry," who designed the shows of 1907 and 1908.<sup>12</sup> In the long line of writers and planners of these pageants occurs the name of Nelson,<sup>13</sup> emerging for a moment from the obscurity of his printing office to stand beside that of Peele, whose third show was written in 1591.

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## NOTES ON JOHN TREVISA

### A. *The Date of His Death*

The date for Trevisa's death has generally been accepted as 1412. Smith<sup>1</sup> based his claim for 1412 on the Episcopal Registers of Worcester. His statement is: "Reg. Wigorn. This Trevisa dyed the 13th year of King Henry the fourth, whom John Bone-John succeeded in that vicarage, whom this lord<sup>2</sup> made one of his Executors; and proved a false priest to the heir male of his said lord as after I shall touch."

Henry Wharton, the seventeenth century antiquarian and collector, gives the same date. His note, preserved for us in "Codices

<sup>12</sup> The first one, coming two years after the Sherborne Pageant, showed *The Edwards of England*: and the second—"an historical literary pageant"—*The Press, the Poets and the Musicians of England from Chaucer to Milton*. The "Official Programs" or "Orders of Procession" of these two shows are in the Harvard Library, together with most of those from 1884 to date.

<sup>13</sup> See the *DNB* (1894), xL, p. 213; he was a ballad-writer and printer; proceeding B. A. (Clare College, Cantab.) in 1568, he became a member of the Stationers' Company in 1580, and seems to have died shortly after 1592. He printed many short tracts and ballads, some of which, like this Lord Mayor's Show, he wrote himself.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John McLean, *The Lives of The Berkeley's*, by John Smyth of Nibley, 3 vols., 1883, II, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas 5th, the 10th Lord of Berkeley (1353-1417).

Whartoniani," is a part of ms. Lambeth 585, preserved in Lambeth Palace. The reference, p. 627, is as follows: "Trevisa obitt. 13 H, 4, et successorem habuit in Vicaria Johan Bone-John. Ex. Regro Wigorn."

Practically all the students of Trevisa from Tanner<sup>3</sup> to Kingsford<sup>4</sup> have given the same date.

The date of his death has been finally settled by the discovery of the entry dealing with the appointment of his successor to the Berkeley Vicarage. The entry is found under the date of 1402, in Vol. xvii, in the unprinted Bishop's Register<sup>5</sup> of the diocese of Worcester, during the bishopric of R. Clifford 1401-1407. These registers are preserved in Worcester Cathedral. The entry under the year 1402 is as follows (Reg. Clifford. f. 14d):

Berkelegh Vicaria. Vicesimo primo die dicte mensis Maii dictus Vicarius in spiritualibus apud London ad vicariam ecclesie parochialis de Berkelegh Wygornensis diocesis per mortem magistri Johannis Trevisa ultimum vicarium ejusdem vacantem; dominum Johannem Bonjon Presbyterum ad presentationem Religiosorum virorum abbatis et conventus monasterii Sancti Augustini juxta Bristoll admisit ad vicarium perpetuum de corporaliter inibi residendo juxta formam constitutionem dominorum Othonis et Ottoboni quondam sedis apostolici in Anglia legatorum in hac parte editarum juratum instituit canonicem in eadem cum sine juribus et pertinentis universis. Quibus die et loco dictus dominus Johannes. Juravit obediā domino et habuit litteras institutionis ac mandatum ad inducendum directi archidiacono Gloucestrensis ut est moris.

#### B. *Trevisa and the Translations*

(1) Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, and (2) Aegidius, *De Regimine Principum* are not mentioned by Pits or Bale. Thomas Tanner (p. 720), the first to speak of them, seems certain that Trevisa was the translator. Note his reasons: "In Cod. Bodl. Digby. 233, est translatio Vegetii *de re militari*. Pr. 'In olde tyme it was the manere.' Haec verisimiliter Trevisae debetur, quia facta erat ad mandatum dom. Tho. Berkeley. A. M. ccccVIII in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum finita. In eodem codice simili manu habetur translatio,

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Tanner, *Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica*, Lond., 1748, p. 720.

<sup>4</sup> C. L. Kingsford, *Dict. of National Biography*.

<sup>5</sup> These registers, for 1350-1420, were carefully examined for me by Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, Whitechurch, Stratford-on-Avon, and the above entry communicated to me in a letter under date Feb. 12th, 1915.

cum eleganti pictura monachi regi librum dantes, Aegidii Romani *de regimine principum*. Pr. 'To hys special, etc. politik sentence that is.'"

(1) *De Re Militari*

Babington,<sup>6</sup> after mentioning the ms. Digby 233 at Bodleian, and saying that the work was composed at the request of Lord Berkeley, and finished in 1408, concludes: "This is reasonably presumed to be executed by Trevisa, as well as a translation of Aegidius Romanus' *De Regimine Principum*, contained in the same volume." Cooke in his Trevisa article in 1876 for Trans. of Bristol & Gloc. Arch. Soc. I, 138 regards it as Trevisa's last work, finished in 1408, four years before his death, at the age of 90. He says: "The translation of Vegetius has been attributed to Hoccleve, from a copy of it in the Bodleian Library being bound up with Hoccleve's "De Regimine Principis." The characteristic dedication, however, at its conclusion, sufficiently proves its true authorship." Cooke gives the dedication thus: "To us alle God Graunt grace of our offendynge, space to our amendynge, and his face to be seen at our endyng. Amen."

Boase and Courtney<sup>7</sup> say: "*De re militari* was composed at Lord Berkeley's request and finished in 1408. It is sometimes said to have been done by Trevisa, but from the account in H. O. Coxe's *Catalogus Mss qui in Collegiis aulisque Oxon. adservantur* (1852) II, 19, of another copy at Magd. Coll. Oxford, the translation would seem to have been executed by Clifton." Coxe in describing ms. xxx Magdalen says: "Latino in Anglicum sermonem versi per Clifton quendam, jussu Thomae domini Berkeley." The name Clif or Cleftoun was first given by Francis Douce. He was followed by Caley,<sup>8</sup> in describing one of the Vegetius mss. viz. B. M. Lansdowne 285. Macray is of the same opinion.<sup>9</sup> F. Madan, the librarian of Bodley suggests Bannerton in his examination of the Manuscript.<sup>10</sup> Mr. J. H. Wylie gives Walton.<sup>11</sup> The most

<sup>6</sup> Rolls Series of Higden's *Polychronicon*, I, p. IV.

<sup>7</sup> *Bibl. Cornub.*, II, 798.

<sup>8</sup> Caley's *Catalogue of Lansdowne MSS.*

<sup>9</sup> Rev. Wm. D. Macray, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Digby*, 1883, p. 243.

<sup>10</sup> *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, IV, 582.

<sup>11</sup> *Hist. of England in the time of Henry the Fourth*, N. London, 1894, II, 273.

recent note on the authorship of this work is by Mr. H. N. MacCracken, in an article entitled "Vegetius in English," written for the Kittredge Anniversary Papers (1913).

Mr. MacCracken gives the various guesses to date, has some remarks about the meaning of the word Trevisa, lists with notes the nine known English mss. and furthermore compares Trevisa forms from the *Polychronicon* with forms from Vegetius. He says: "So closely does the Vegetius conform in style, dialect, and vocabulary to the acknowledged work of John Trevisa, that it is hard to believe any other had a hand in it. The mystery, under present knowledge, seems insoluble, and may be no clearer when a full comparison of the Vegetius with Trevisa's known work is made, for the writer believes it will only confirm the claim of identity here advanced." So much for the various opinions as to the translations.

Tanner, who led the way in the Trevisa theory, doubtless based his claim on the Digby Colophon which runs thus:

Here endeth þe book þat Clerkes Clepun in latyne Vigesi⁹ de re militari þe book of Vigesii of dedus of Knyzthod þe which book was translated and turned fro latyn in to englesch at þe ordinaunce and byddyng of þe worthi and worschepful lord sire Thomas of Berkeley to gret disport and dalyaunce of lordes and all worthy werryours þat ben appased by wey of age al labour and trauailling and to grete informacioun and lernyng of jonge lordes and Knyztes þat ben lusty and loueþ to here and see and to vse dedus of armes and chivalrye. þe turnyng of þis book into englisch was wreton and endud in vigile of all halwes þe ȝeer of oure lord. a þousand foure hundred and þe eizte x<sup>o</sup> ȝeer of kynge henry þe forþe. To him and to vs alle god graunt grace of our offendyng, space to our amendyng and his face to seen at our endyng. Amen. This is his name þat turned þis book fro latyn into Englesche.

Worschepful □ toun "

Other mss. having this colophon, with slight variations are: Magd. Coll. Oxford 30; Bodley Douce 291; Bodl. Laud. Misc. 416, omits cryptogram; Br. Mus. Royal 18A xii omits crypt.; Br. Mus. Lansdowne 285, omits crypt.

From the closing in Digby, Tanner concludes that Trevisa was the translator. He had concluded his two important translations, viz. *Polychronicon* 1387, and *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, 1398, in a similar way (omitting the author's signature). Both were trans-

lated at the request of Lord Berkeley. Vegetius was finished in 1408. Tanner quotes Wharton, whose statement is based on the Worcester Register, that Trevisa lived until 1412 (see above). Tanner evidently did not consider the signature.

The counts against Trevisa as the translator are:

(1) The newly found date of his death, 1402, instead of the heretofore accepted date, 1412. The colophon tells us that the Vegetius was written and ended in 1408.

(2) Trevisa in no other translation gives his signature in this form. If the signature "□ toun" be his, this work is unique.

(3) A careful reading of the Digby ms. 233 revealed none of the well known Trevisa annotations or notes. These occur at every turn in the *Polychronicon*. There are over 100 of them, covering some 600 lines. Except in a few cases they are signed "Trevisa." We find them also in *De Prop. Rerum*. Once he has a noted annotation in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, twice in *De Regimine Principum*, and even in his short translation of *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, he has a most interesting note. Had Trevisa translated Vegetius, we should have expected some of his explanations to appear. The work is fairly long, covering Fols. 183-227; there is excellent material for explanation and comment. A close comparison with the Latin original may reveal notes and comment, unsigned. A few such occur in the *Polychronicon*.

Before the question is finally settled, a full comparison of the Vegetius with Trevisa's known works must be made, and the date 1408 must be explained away.

## (2) *De Regimine Principum* of Egidius de Colonna

This prose work of the *Rule of Princes* is found in but one ms. viz., Bodl. Digby 233, covering fols. 1-182 b(2), and immediately followed by Vegetius. Both are written in the same hand.

We have already, in connection with Vegetius, noticed the comments in regard to this work. Cooke and others in the '70s regarded it as Hocceve's. Boase and Courtney only remark: "This translation is supposed to have been executed by Trevisa." MacCracken regards it as Trevisa's. In naming the mss. of Vegetius, under Digby, he says: "Follows translation by same author of

‘De Regimine Principum.’” Miss Greenwood<sup>12</sup> mentions it in the Trevisa list, but questions it, as well as Vegetius. There is no evidence in the closing sentences that Trevisa wrote it. It ends without any reference to patron, date or author. It reads thus, f. 182 b(2), “And al such doynge þei scholde ordeyne for þe comyn profit and for pees of citeseyns. ffor jif þei disiren þe comyn profit and pees of þe citeseyns þei schulle have þat perpetual pees in þe whiche is cheef quiete and reste. þe whiche pees god graunteþ and byhoteþ to his owne trewe seruantes þat is I blessed for evere-more. Amen.”

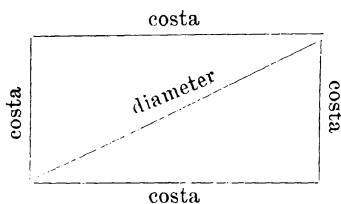
We find, however, evidence of Trevisa’s authorship from two interesting annotations or additions.<sup>13</sup> The first is found fol. 143 b (2), Chap. xvi. Just before the entry Aegidius is speaking of the four powers, that “scholde be knowe in rewelyng of a citee. þe prince, þe consaile, þe jeldhalle, and þe puple.” The work of the prince has been discussed, then he comes to speak of the consaile. He enumerates six things,

þat falleþ not vnder consaile; first al þyng þat is in mutable and may not chaunge is out of oure consaile. for we taken consaile for to be reweled in owre dedes and nedes. and for to voide euel and for to have good þan þynges þat may not be voided and þynges þat may not be changed falleþ not vnder counsaile, þerfore iii ethicorum, it is Iseid þat of evere lastynge þynges and of þynges þat may not chaunge no man axeþ consaile for no man axeþ consaile of þe dyameter þat may not be Imecte by þe costa neþer oþer thinges þat may not change. Trevisa, for þe menyng hereof it is to wetyng þat in quadrate liche long and brood ben four lynes liche longe and þe foure sides þerof and eche of thilke foure side lynes is Icleped costa, and a lyne Idrawe in lengþe fro þe oo cornere of þe quadrate to anoþer corner in þe oþer side is Icleped dyameter and þat diameter is lenger þan costa and it may not be knowe in nombrane in what proporcioun þe dyameter is longere þan costa.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Cambridge Hist. of English Literature*, II, 444.

<sup>13</sup> These were found in a hasty survey of the MS. A careful reading and comparison with a Latin MS. may reveal others, unsigned, as in the *Polychronicon*, where a scribe has failed to insert “Trevisa” at the beginning of the note.

<sup>14</sup> Trevisa’s note ends with the diagram.



þe seconde also of þynges þat meuen alwey in on manere wise is no counsaile etc.

The second addition, or note, is in Chap. xvii, folio 144 b(1)

ffor as it is Iseide iii<sup>o</sup> ethicorum þere eche consail be a question, 3et not eche questioun is a counsaile. ffor 3if consaile is Itake onliche of thinges þat stonde in oure dedes consaile is a questioun not of alle thinge but onliche of doynge and dedes of mankynde Of speculatif thinges and of kynde of thinges and of evere lastynge thinges may be manye questions but suche questions ben not Icleped consailes. Treuysa. cours of sterres and planettes and of opere thinges of kynde þat may not chaunge ben Icleped speculabilia doynge and dedes of mankynde ben Icleped Agibilia.

From Tanner, who writes of this work in connection with Vegetius: "In eodem codice (Digby 233) simili manu habetur translatio—Eorte Trevisa ejus auctor," to MacCracken, all writers, except Cooke who speaks of Hoccleve and Miss Greenwood who questions it, have assigned it to Trevisa without hesitation or doubt, but without giving any reason. Is it because the work is bound up in the same MS. as Vegetius, and written in the same hand? The above Trevisa notes, the only sound evidence of authorship so far adduced, have never before been noted. Perhaps Trevisa's authorship may be more fairly established when a close study of style, structure, etc., is made, and the work is compared with Trevisa's well known translations, *Polychronicon*, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, and *Nicodemus*.

In my "Life and the Minor Works of John Trevisa" which is under preparation for the Early English Text Society, I have gone into this matter in greater detail.

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